W
793 [38 cont.] brother is a source of worry to Amadou Bamba, who nevertheless shows him great partiality and gives him large sums of money, which are soon spent. This Murid of fancy, however, this Sheik Thioro, is still not content. He puts on airs, flirts with the businessmen and traders of Senegal, and offers his services to the administration. All this bustling in a vacuum is quite harmless, for no one takes Sheik Thioro seriously.

W
*795 Provinces of N'guick-Mérina and Gandiolais. As one draws away from the Murid crescent which borders the Ferlo on the west, southwest, and south, [39] Amadou Bamba's influence vanishes. Thus, the provinces of N'guick-Mérina and Gandiolais are almost
W
[793] free of it. There is said to be a total of 80 sérignes and talibés in these two provinces, which represents a maximum of 250 persons under the spiritual authority of Amadou Bamba. No personality merits special mention.

ooo The appendices attached are:

Appendix No. 15. Circle of Louga:
Enumeration by province of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

Appendix No. 16. Circle of Louga:
List by province of the principal Murid marabouts, their origin, their residence, their spiritual father, and the number of their talibés.

7. Dakar and Saint-Louis

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*795 For the sake of completeness, the small number of Murids
369 living in Dakar and Saint-Louis should be pointed out. There
5 are about 140 in Dakar and 130 in Saint-Louis.
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369 These Murids are not even inhabitants of the city, but im-
[62] migrants from Baol, Cayor, and Diambour; Dakar, indeed, is too
● [66]

1: Marty--33 G-4,5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Wolof MS30

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*795
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[39 cont.]

busy a city to lend itself to religious propaganda, and Saint-Louis is too enlightened a Moslem center to accept the doctrinal fancies of the Murids.

They are there as laborers, usually without their families, sent by their sheik to earn money. They work as porters on the quays and especially as makers and sellers of mats for the use of the natives. [40] In Dakar, they also work as water vendors in the Black quarters, and in Saint-Louis as vendors of firewood or of fodder for the many cows fed in the city.

When winter draws near, most of these talibés return to their country of origin to engage in the tasks of preparing the land and of sowing.

In general they are under the spiritual authority of Sheik Ibra Fal. He himself goes to Dakar. He is represented in Saint-Louis by Amadou Guèye.

Sheik Ibra Fal owns several compounds and various buildings in both Dakar and Saint-Louis.

Sheik Anta owns a handsome house in Dakar, in the Rue Raffenel, purchased for 28,000 francs from a native and now rented to a Moroccan trader named Madani El-Qtiri.

Conclusion

In this study of the cadres and the faithful of the Murid order, there ought to be included, aside from Amadou Bamba and the principal lieutenants already mentioned, a large number of local marabouts who have not all been taught by Amadou Bamba, but who, some of them possibly out of personal conviction, others out of self-interest and in order to keep their believers who were drawn to the new movement, have joined the order of the Sérigne and have become his vicars. To these should be added the chiefs of villages or factions, notables in quest of authority or prestige, clever traders who skillfully manage their commercial affairs and their spiritual interests.

/374 cont./

369 [438] became a relatively flourishing commercial center; each year more than 20,000 metric tons of groundnuts were handled by the traders of the place and sent by railroad to the ports of Rufisque or Dakar. As early as 1907 the first work on the Thiès-[496] Kayes railroad was begun. All of this new economic activity [464] required the employment of many laborers, who were in part recruited on the spot, but also in the neighboring villages.

369 During the dry season, work in the fields is reduced. A 162 number of rural people in the vicinity come to offer their serv-[464] ices as workers in the factoreries (2) or in the newly opened

[443] 2. Factorerie: shop where everything is sold.

[461] yards /chantiers, dockyards, woodyards, etc./. Some of these villagers feel that this kind of work is less arduous and more remunerative than that of agriculture. They become definitively attached to urban life and come to swell the population of the native quarters previously established.

[484] Others return every evening to the village. During the [22] rainy season they leave their urban job and devote all their activity to work in the fields.

During this whole period prior to the Great War the suburban village seems to have played the role of intermediary or rather of relay-station between the hamlet in the bush and the city. [464] The call for non-specialized labor had echos not only in the outskirts /375/ of the city itself, but also in the more distant villages. Curiosity about new things, the opportunity to escape familial tutelage, and especially the promise of relatively high earnings stimulated some immigration movement toward the escales.

[574] By means of the great hospitality that he knows will be shown him by relatives or friends who live in Dialhaté or Keur-Issa-Bambara, the rural person settles in these agglomerations.

/375 cont./

369 He works the lougan (1) of his host; after a few months he
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1. Lougan; a Wolof term signifying a cultivated field.

obtains a little grant of land from the head of the village; he builds a hut, and often his family joins him and comes to share his life. Diakhaté and Keur-Issa-Bambara grow. The new settler takes advantage of the inactivity that the dry season imposes on him by offering his services temporarily to the urban establishments. Each year he divides his activities, which become half-urban, half-rural. If stable employment is offered to him in the city, he leaves the care of his lougan to his family and devotes himself entirely to his new activity. For a few months he will accept this daily 484 travel, but he has no deep attachment in the village that welcomed him earlier; tired of his long daily journeys, perhaps also pushed by a kind of pride in becoming a city dweller, he will finally, he and his family, leave the rural life and settle in the huts of the native quarters of Thiés.

369 Perhaps he retained a little lougan in the village?
241 His family will come to maintain it each year. Perhaps he exchanged it for a field located in the vicinity of his new establishment? In general, because of a kind of peasant atavism, he always keeps a little bit of ground near his quarter. The harvest will give some protection against possi- 454 ble shortages; the sale of the products of the soil will be a considerable balance when enforced idleness or lack of money occurs.

369 The period of the maximum development of Keur-
621 Issa-Bambara is set by the old people in the decade 1910-1920. This swelling of the population often required splitting the village in two. For reasons of familial misunderstandings or the necessity of being nearer to fields too far away, this disassociation was brought about in several hamlets (at

/383 cont./

369 563 162 at Karamoko. This leads to the supposition that there is great instability on the part of the families who, coming from the Sudan, for example, momentarily settle in the village before being integrated into the urban population of Thiès.

An examination of the table below[1] will permit a comparison of the structure of the four non-None villages (the None villages are homogeneous, as we have seen above).

/384/ In the predominately rural villages, the number 369 563 162 166 of individuals born in the village almost balances the number of those born outside: Karamoko, 34 as against 35; Keur-Mamour, 28 as against 22. It should be emphasized that at Keur-Mamour most of the men were born in the village itself, 21 as against 3, but by contrast most of the women are of outside origin, 19 as against 7. At Karamoko, on the other hand, an equal number of men and women leave their village of birth to settle elsewhere.

In the predominately urban agglomerations, the individuals who come from the outside are clearly in the majority. At Diakhaté, 31 are natives of the village as against 48 from the outside. At Keur-Issa-Bambara, only 23 are natives of the village as against 51 from the outside. Let us note that the number of men and the number of women born outside of the village are nearly identical: 22 men as against 29 women at Keur-Issa-Bambara, 23 as against 25 at Diakhaté.

These comparative figures emphasize a greater ethnic mixture in the villages whose economy is marked by the presence of the city.

The villages of Sudanese origin in particular require complementary data concerning the place of origin of the emigration. 563 162 166 To what extent do these villages maintain relations with their country of origin? Does the emigration movement toward Senegal, primed at the end of the last century, continue with as much strength in our day?

An examination of the place of birth of individuals belonging to the over-40 age group (early emigration) and the individuals not having reached this age (recent emigration) will illuminate

[1] [see cat 116, p 18 - ANALYST]

S W 162 166

Persons Over 15 Years of Age	Karamoko = 106 persons (Bambara)			K. I. Bambara = 116 persons (Bambara)			K. Mamour = 86 persons (Wolof)			Diakhaté = 121 persons (Wolof)		
	M	W	Total	M	W	Total	M	W	Total	M	W	Total
Born in the village	15	19	34	18	5	23	21	7	28	18	13	31
Born outside of the village	16	19	35	22	29	51	3	19	22	23	25	48

3: Savonnet--18 E-5 (no date) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

/384 cont./

S 563 162 166 this problem.

At Keur-Issa-Bambara, out of 37 individuals born in the Sudan, 20 are over 40 years of age. At Karamoko, 28 are natives of the Sudan, but 18 have reached 40 years of age. Out of 65 individuals of Sudanese origin, only 27 are young elements. Over half of those classed under the rubric "emigrant" were aged persons, some of whom perhaps assisted in the creation of the village in Senegal.

These few figures are an index of the mediocrity of the present immigration of the Sudanese to the region of Thiès. The unions and the displacements of families or of familial elements seem to occur now between relatively close villages.

S 162 463 369 An examination of the division of activities at Diakhaté and at Keur-Issa-Bambara will permit to some extent "gauging" their index of urbanization.

W [162] [463] [369] At Diakhaté, 20% of the economically active male population work /385/ at Thiès. 60% have remained agriculturalists, and the remainder, 20%, is composed of workers of mixed activities, half-rural, half-urban. Keur-Issa-Bambara shows only a very low percentage of workers in mixed activities: 60% are rural; more than 30% work in the city (one sees that this latter figure is slightly higher than that for the None villages, 27%).

S [498] The workshops of the Dakar-Niger employ a considerable number of permanent or temporary workers from these two villages. These two localities in fact furnish 19 permanent city workers, 15 of whom are employed on the Dakar-Niger; among the four temporary workers from Keur-Issa-Bambara, three have worked in this enterprise. In addition, Diakhaté furnishes temporarily for the city: four tailors, one mason, and one carpenter.

W [463]

S 162 [191] [871] Let us add that a minority of natives, despite the contacts that they can have with Europeans, understand our language, a little less than 5%. The number of children who go to the European school is almost null, scarcely 1%.

S 369 After this quick study of some types of villages in the vicinity

369 /385 cont./
of Thiès. it clearly appears that the characteristics of the suburbs of the African cities noticeably differ from those of the cities of the mother country. Can one use the term suburb /banlieue/ for these types of suburban villages? Sapko, Thiès-none, Tiali, and Keur-Issa-Bambara, on the one hand, can be regarded as suburb villages; in fact they possess the essential characteristics: proximity to the city, relatively high percentage of workers traveling daily to the enterprises of Thiès, a considerable number of mixed workers, sale of truck-gardening products in the city, relatively high percentage of improved dwellings...

Keur-Mamour and Karamoko already appear to be outside of the economy of the city and cannot be regarded as suburb villages. Diakhaté would be a marginal type; despite its proximity to the first urban quarters, its economy seems to be little influenced by that of the city (only a fifth of the economically active population works in the city).

On the mother-country plan, a city such as Thiès would
[498] have an important industrial suburb. Let us not forget that the workshops of the Dakar-Niger engage nearly 2,500 native workers.

369 The agrarian economy plays an essential role in these
241 villages, but it has remained traditional. The introduction of new crops and the extension of the zones of gardening and orchards are very slight. The woman has perhaps extended by a few square meters the /386/ area of her vegetable garden for the cultivation of vegetables intended for sale at the market, but no serious systematic arrangement has been made. Traditional cultivation, with its archaic methods, prevails everywhere. If
369 the need for money stimulates the rural person to offer his services
464 in the city, he seems to choose the place of work nearest to his
166 home. Is it truly out of liking that the Wolof of Diakhaté hire themselves out to the workshops of the Dakar-Niger? Is it out of liking that the None near the mercantile quarters hire themselves out as laborers or boys? The proximity of the place of work seems to enter considerably into the choice of urban occupation.

The suburban village, as we have noted several times, has

/386 cont./

369 two important roles in the economy of the escale: it is a re-
464 serve of workers who can be employed temporarily; it is also
166 the position of withdrawal when enforced idleness and strikes interdict work in the city.

[463] A functional examination of the different human groups has in fact revealed that an important proportion of the male elements has a hybrid occupation: half-agricultural, half-laborer. These workers fluctuating between two activities seem like a shock troop of laborers who are employed on the occasion of great undertakings: embankments for the laying of the road from Dakar to Thiès, putting through and establishing new streets, the installation of the military camps, the extraction of phosphate in the Péchiney quarries... The yard closed, they temporarily return to the land.

These villages are also withdrawal points in case of prolonged work stoppages. If the worker is discharged from his establishment, if he suffers from enforced idleness in his occupation, is he totally deprived of money? He knows that he will [574] be able to wait for better times thanks to the hospitality that he will find in the neighboring agglomeration. Settled near the escale, it will be possible for him to look for work every day.

369 Reserve of manpower, reserve of food products intended principally for the native, these are the two points that justify the term suburb given to these few villages.

Their external appearance and their internal organization as we have described it scarcely correspond to our Western view of the suburban phenomenon. But we should place this problem in its African milieu where the conceptions of the city, animal breeding, agriculture... profoundly differ from ours.

How long will this type of suburb of the African cities preserve this rural appearance? Evolution in the modes /387/ of settlement, in interior comfort, in the extension of new crops..., already primed in some villages, will progressively continue in the neighboring agglomerations.

In spite of appearances, modifications occur rapidly

/388/

369 The city of Thiès, 60 kilometers east of Dakar, contains
433 36,000 inhabitants, according to a recent census. All of its
[162] activity seems to be centered around four principal poles: commercial, industrial, administrative, and military.

Its commercial activity is due to its position at the cross-
[487] roads of important paths of communication: railroad lines from Dakar to Saint-Louis, from Dakar to Bamako, and from Thiès to Kaolack, and roads from Dakar to Saint-Louis and from Dakar to Diourbel, Tambacounda, and the Sudan and Guinea.

It also owes the essential part of its industrial activity to
[498] this implantation at an important rail crossroads; the repair
[464] shops of the Dakar-Niger rail system, where nearly 1,000 workers of all grades are employed, have been set up there.

Apart from the workshops of the Dakar-Niger, it must not
[497] be forgotten that Thiès is also where the management of this
[634] system resides. And it is also the principal administrative point of a circle /cercle, an administrative district/. We will thus find, besides the workers, a rather large proportion of office employees, managers, and executives.

[712] Finally, the military function of Thiès is due to the presence of two important camps: the "DMA" (Détachement Motorisé Autonome), and an air base.

Besides these four centers of activities which give this city a modern character (economically speaking, at least), a fifth
[166] one intervenes in a not inconsiderable proportion. A rather large
[241] population of cultivators, who in winter cultivate groundnuts and millet in nearby fields, has settled on the periphery of Thiès. And the city is the point to which, at the time of the groundnut trade, all of the agricultural activity of the circle comes to assert itself. Its commercial importance is thereby further increased.

162 /389/ Here is some numerical information concerning
463 the occupational distribution of the population of Thiès.

Out of an economically active population of 11,040 inhabitants at the date of the census, there were counted:

/398 cont./

426 near generality. A continual deficit of 20% of the monthly
*511 income soon creates, for an individual or a group of individuals, an enormous liability inconceivable in a society economically organized according to Western standards. To be loaded with debts is a disgrace in Europe. The non-payment of purchases on credit is sanctioned. Most of the heads of families that we investigated did not hide the sums that they owed, whether because of purchases on credit among the merchants or directly as a consequence of borrowing money. To the extent that they remembered them. And, when a debt is paid, it is often because a sum perhaps larger was borrowed a few moments before.

*511 Only the importance of the practice of selling and buying
452 on credit permits the system to endure. About 80% of the Africans of the cities, in Senegal at least, buy what they need on credit. Little more than the daily marketing for the household (vegetables, condiments, fish and meat) is done with cash. Of course, the costs of buying on credit are overly high: 5, 10, 15% depending on the products, up to 50% sometimes (for cloth, for example). And the merchants who consent to
[443] these practices are for the most part resellers at second or third hand; the cash price itself is higher. But they sell sugar by lumps and matches by the unit...

*511 The African salaried worker, when he receives his salary,
426 in practice pays his debts for the month, and begins to go into
452 debt until the end of the following month. In many cases, as is proved by the debts shown, /399/ /Table III appears here/ /400/ the total of this salary is quite inferior to the sums to
●[166] be reimbursed. If then a merchant does not consent to any more credit (in general they are patient), it is always possible to go to another one by changing quarter.

*511 The merchant himself does not lose anything; his prices
452 are sufficiently high so that, even though not paid in full, the sums received permit him to make his own purchases. And he always has some customers with higher incomes who pay their

/400 cont./

*511 452 debts in full. The latter pay for the others, and, if they know it, they are not surprised. It is a deep-rooted survival of the traditional, essentially collective funds in a system based on an institution of individualistic character, being salaried. Likewise, [166] [602] [592] the salaried person who is one day obliged to pay back more debts than he can meet will be able to send his family to spend a few months among relatives whom he has kept in the natal village, and they will see nothing abnormal in it. He himself will live as a "parasite" in a more favored unit of consumption, and no one will be surprised by it (1).

[114]

1. The problems of credit, complex and not very well known, the elements of which are often imperceptible, have not been followed systematically in the course of this investigation. We hope to make them the subject of a series of investigations which will be devoted especially to them.

*511 592 Is it a sign of evolution that, out of the five units of consumption that have not admitted into their midst any element foreign to the restricted family, two are among the youngest, thus capable of being more strongly influenced by ideas of [452] emancipation? Among these two, we have likewise found a lower percentage of purchases on credit. A broader investigation would perhaps confirm this tendency.

*511 Let us return to the 43 families to ascertain that the first balanced budget appears with the first income of 15,000 francs. The next three again have a deficit, but a smaller one. Taking account of the possible margin of error, one can infer, not a deficit, but a certain difficulty in "making ends meet."

This experiment, however, is too limited for one to be able to conclude with certainty that 15,000 francs is the indispensable minimum monthly income.

All of the budgets following No. 27 clearly have a surplus. We previously noted that the "hole" of No. 34 is due to the cost

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

S 369 563

French. The Moors are an obvious exception to this, as P. Dubié has pointed out. Though they work in all the major towns of Senegal they have retained complete identity of tribal customs, even maintaining abroad the traditional hostilities between their own tribal subdivisions. The tribal structure of Dakar, which is the most heavily industrialised single city in West Africa, gives an idea of the common melting pot that the new cities and towns in Senegal represent: Wolof constitute 25 per cent; Lebou, the original inhabitants, 15 per cent; mixed Wolof-Lebou, 11 per cent; Serer, 3 per cent; Bambara, 9 per cent; Toucouleur, 10 per cent; Fula, 5 per cent; Moors, 4 per cent; Diola, 5 per cent; Soussou, 2 per cent; Cape Verdians 2 per cent. The result is that the inhabitants of Dakar are forced to learn some form of *lingua franca*, in this case Wolof or French, if they are to live in the city.

W [369] S [162] S [197]

In the modern economy of the city, where one seeks work where work is and where housing is short and expensive, it is difficult for any of these groups to keep up any pretence at tribal solidarity. However, as Schapera has shown, it is possible for the African migrant working in industry 'to maintain two quite distinct spheres of human relations. The African who leaves his tribe to go and work in the town will take part in the social organisations, e.g. trade unions, he finds there, but these will affect him only as a factory worker, and will have no place in the subsistence economy which is governed by traditional tribal and social relationships. The two spheres are distinct spatially as wellas socially, and despite the exchange of ideas between them they remain none the less parallel.'

In Dakar this is particularly true of the immigrant Toucouleur from the Vallée du Fleuve, as A. Diop shows in his excellent study of Toucouleur immigration to Dakar. But it should be noted here that the Toucouleur are not permanent emigrants from their areas, and have only come to Dakar temporarily to supplement the low incomes of the Vallée du Fleuve. Permanent settlers without the ultimate

S [164]

369 633 175 [666] in some years. Since the beginning of the 20th century, however, urban citizens have taken an increasingly lively interest in political matters.[18]

563 668 In this restricted political system the relative importance of the roles played by different ethnic groupings and different cities varied continuously. Ethnic dominance, first held by the old European families, passed gradually to mixed-blood society, which came into being in the 18th century and rapidly acquired wealth, education, and influence. By the mid-19th century mixed-bloods made up the majority of the westernized population. But the entry of the emancipated slaves, the first sizable migration toward the [166] cities, quickly reduced the mixed-bloods to a minority. In 1900 they numbered [162] less than 5,000 in the four communes together, though for several decades their economic and political influence remained quite disproportionate to their numbers. 668 Among the cities, St. Louis was [869] predominant until WW I. At the beginning of the century it practically controlled the deputation to the French legislature and the Council-general — and hence the economic life of the territory. Then Gorée-Dakar came to the fore;[19] in 1914 a citizen of Gorée, Blaise Diagne, was elected deputy, followed by Galandou Diouf and Lebou. These men were the first elected Senegalese to win [645] broad support at Paris; Diagne himself was appointed a Secretary of State [a subministerial post, equivalent to a U.S. Under-Secretary]. In Senegal, the au- [692] thority of elected officials — deputies and Councillors-general — increased, and clashes with the civil administration were frequent.[20]

[P. 8 B]

/668 cont./

162 Table I. Division of the population of the Senegalese Fouta according to ethnic groups.

Ethnic Group	Actual Number	Percentage
Toucouleur	187,000	54.8
Wolof	36,000	10.6
Saracolé	13,000	3.8
Peul	47,000	13.8
Moor	56,000	16.4
Miscellaneous	2,000	0.6
Total	341,000	100.0

587 563 The ethnic groups are relatively endogamous, because marriages between persons of different ethnic groups are very rare, except perhaps, as we have seen, between Toucouleur and Peul (Foulbé walo). The Toucouleur /669/ are the only group entirely 563 within the Fouta, aside from some fractions that emigrated in the [166] course of religious crusades into Macina, Boundou, and elsewhere.

Each of the other ethnic groups is merely an extension into the valley of a group whose bulk occupies the neighboring regions, the Wolof in the northern part of Senegal, the Saracolé in western Sudan, the Peul near the Ferlo and the Assaba. But each of these ethnic groups is itself divided into several populations: the castes.

565 [582] Castes and social conditions. The castes, in reality, present a matrimonial barrier more difficult to overcome than that of ethnic affiliation. The term "caste" is used here in the general sense of social class, exclusive in nature, and not in the sense [564] that is given it in the valley where the term is reserved for artisan castes.

[567] [422] Social conditions first of all distinguish the captives from the free men. The captives are regarded as the personal property

/674 cont./

143 1957 [13]): diocese of Oeiras in the state of Piauí, 9.67 for 1,931 marriages in 1954; diocese of Petrolina in the state of Pernambuco, 8.3 for 3,063 marriages in 1950, etc. These figures are exceptional for this country. Very often the value of the coefficient in each diocese is below 1.

Even the castes of India do not furnish comparable figures: 1.3 among the Desasth Rigvedi Brahmans; 2.8 among the Gaud Saraswat Brahmans; 6.35 among the Marathas. Nor even a closed tribe like the Ramah Navaho of the United States: 6.6. In Japan where a strong endogamy persists, the figures found so far are between 2.8 and 3.6.

In the countries of Europe, since the breakup of the isolates took place, the value of the coefficient is everywhere less than the unit. In the French provinces it varies at the present time between 0.1 and 0.9.

For the African populations the data are still very scarce. As far as we know, only Roberts, 1956 [14], has given figures for three Dinka groups from the valley of the Nile to the Sudan: 1.53, 0.96, 0.49. These figures are very far from those for the valley of the Senegal. Nevertheless, Tanner, 1958 [15], in an Islamic community of Tanganyika, has found a rate of 37.8% for marriages between cousins, which should correspond to a mean coefficient of consanguinity bordering on those reported here.

582 143 Evolution. The inaccuracy of historical knowledge makes it impossible to say whether the endogamic state described has always been so important, but one may assume that the present situation will be modified in the years /675/ to come. Several factors could play a part in an evolution toward exogamy, for example, migrations, the size of families, social barriers.

The role of migration is negligible here, for even though the Wolof and the Saracolé have founded some villages of foreigners within Toucouleur country, the Fouta is now a country of active emigration toward urban centers like Dakar. The average size of families is probably increasing because of the prolongation of the average length of life, which tends to increase the possibilities

[166] [162]

/156 cont./

36 leaves the principal streets, the landmarks disappear, /157/ all the parcels resemble one another, crossroads at angles succeed crossroads, wooden structures are lined up one after the other, different and yet similar. The contrast is therefore great between Pikine and the so-called irregular quarters of Dakar, Wakhinane or Baye Gayndé. One is easily lost in both cases; in the second, it is because of the disordered jumble of lanes that wind in every direction, whereas in the first it is because of the geometrical regularity of the streets and the almost perfect alignment of enclosures and walls, which finally eliminate all originality and every distinctive sign. It is impossible, on the other hand, to compare Pikine with the Médina or the new quarters. In the latter, the streets are paved, sometimes lighted, electricity is common in the windows of the houses, and the buildings of durable material far outweigh the wooden huts. In the former, on the contrary, only the broad axes are tarred, while elsewhere sand is king, and although here and there one finds some durable buildings outside the two districts, the great majority of the huts are of wood, sometimes of straw. Village, shanty-town, or city? One does not know how to answer this question. Moreover, another contrast, to which reference has already been made, complicates it: the difference which distinguishes the two districts of the ICOTAF and the Pépinière, on the one hand, from the other quarters of Pikine on the other. The former are actually comparable to Ouagouniaye or Bopp, and therefore this duality of habitat, and consequently of living conditions, leads to a modification of the initial question: Is Pikine not made up of a city and a village? Is not the unity of the Pikine agglomeration merely artificial?

175 369 423 One is more inclined to believe this if one considers the origin and history of the district. Before 1952 Pikine did not exist, and instead the bush stretched out, with monkeys, jackals, etc. Only this bush belonged to the state, and it [166] was on these government lands that it was decided to relocate the inhabitants of the irregular quarters who had to be expelled from Dakar, in order to realize the planned works of urbanization.

/159 cont./

125 124 The questionnaire of the first investigation pertains to indispensable socio-demographic data and to housing conditions; as for the interviews, although permitting a definite framework, they were conducted in a very flexible way to give the interlocutor the maximum liberty of expression and thus to gather information on attitudes and opinions concerning family problems: education, marriage portion, marriage, polygamy, etc.

128 We shall not present here the complete record of this double investigation, but simply a certain number of results which give a somewhat more precise idea of the social reality at Pikine.

I. Demographic Elements

162 The total population of Pikine during the winter of 1960, not counting visitors and transients, comes to 28,780 inhabitants (1). The first stratum numbers 25,660 persons and the

1. A brief calculation of error shows that the population of Pikine has a 95% chance of being made up of between 26,286 and 31,374, the standard deviation being 1,247.

the second 3,120. This figure calls for the following remarks.

167 166 1) In winter the seasonal migrants who come to work at Dakar during the dry season have set out again for their homes /160/ in order to farm. Thus it is probable that the population of Pikine, like that of Dakar, is larger during the months from December to April (1).

1. It will suffice to refer to the results of the demographic investigation that took place in March 1961 to verify the magnitude of this event.

/160 cont./

162 erroneous estimate of the age /161/ /Table 1 appears here/
882 /162/ of young people, which is of a psycho-sociological order. The adolescents are either very much children, and one then gives them less than 15 years -- or they are already considered adults, thus more than 20 years old. /Diagrams appear here./ Without commenting on this error, let us nevertheless note that this fact is correlative to a global situation in which youth is difficult to recognize as such in the society, and where passage from childhood to adulthood is accomplished without the transition of adolescence.

162 /163/ The other cause is of an objective order: Pikine
[166] is a city composed largely of migrants coming from their villages, as we shall see farther on, and the most favorable age for rural migration is between 20 and 30.

The other phenomenon clearly perceptible on the pyramid is the successive bulge of each of the two sides of the pyramid; in the city the old women are proportionately less numerous than the men of the same age. Despite the possibility of errors of estimation on the part of the persons concerned, the subjective impressions of an investigator confirm this fact: in Pikine one finds fewer old women than old men.

The percentage of persons more than 60 years old is, moreover, low: only 3%. The population as a whole is very young. It is calculated that 53.6% are less than 20 years old, which leaves 43.4% adults.

Another remarkable fact is a slight imbalance of the sex ratio in favor of women; 47.5% men as against 52.3% women. We observe an inverse structure in Dakar; the census of 1955 shows that the percentage of women increases as one goes from the center to the periphery. Ouakam, Yof, Cambérène, Thiaroye, Yembeul, and Mbao, like Pikine, have a female population larger than the male population. Only the first are old villages, and this fact is not surprising. On the contrary, the building of Pikine is of very recent date and it is a matter of a city. Let us note, finally, that in the districts the sex ratio is slightly higher than in the rest of the quarters: 54% women as against 46% men, and then again one finds 52.3% and 47.7%. We shall see later whether

S /163 cont./
162 it is possible to discover a likely explanation for this phenomenon.

S
162 Let us now turn to the data peculiar to each ethnic group.
128 Let us determine first the classification followed and the reasons which have led to its adoption. The Lebou have been grouped with the Wolof because of their small number and also because, in a city recently created, their traditional particularism has not found the means or the occasion to develop as in the old villages of the peninsula. The few Sarakolé investigated have been grouped with the Toucouleur /Tukolor/ insofar as they are natives of the Valley. By Bambara, both the Bambara proper as well as the Khassonké /Kassonke/ are to be understood. Finally, under the category "Others" we have assembled all the other ethnic groups, primarily the Casamançais /people of Casamance/, Manjack and Diola, Guineans, and the natives of the other African states.

/164/

S
W
162 The Wolof

Numbering almost 16,000, they constitute 55.6% of the population. This majority is close to that of Dakar. The sex ratio is 108 women for 100 men. The age pyramid shows the same anomalies as the general pyramid, with the characteristic gap for the period 15-19 years, and the successive bulge on each side. 52.8% of the population is less than 20 years old, which is the general percentage.

The Sérère

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166 Their total number does not exceed 5.6% of that of the total population; 50% are less than 20 years old. The most characteristic trait which is peculiar to the Sérère /Serer/ is the size of the female population -- hence of the female migration: out of three individuals there are two women and one man. In connection with this fact, the indentation from 15-19 years of age is much less pronounced here on the female side than in the other ethnic groups; the young Sérère women and girls soon leave their village for the city.

/164 cont./
000 and girls soon leave their village for the city.

The Toucouleur

162 This is the second ethnic group in order of importance, since they make up 20.22% of the population. The young people less than 20 years old constitute 55.3%, and the sex ratio is 123 women to 100 men, clearly higher than that of the Wolof. But the remarkable phenomenon which appears on the above pyramid and distinguishes it from the Wolof pyramid is that this imbalance is much more pronounced between the ages of five and 20 than at other ages: if the number of boys from 0 to five years old is much larger than that of girls (68 girls for 100 boys), the sex ratio between five and 20 years is 161 girls as against 100 boys, and subsequently drops again to 136 as against 100. The same phenomenon is observable in Dakar according to the census of 1955, and this demographic structure is peculiar to the city, since the census made in the Fouta by the MISOES shows an inverse structure: in the Valley
162 the boys are more numerous than the girls. Why? The answers
166 that were given in the Toucouleur households questioned on the subject oriented the explanation in the following direction: on the one hand, the girls are reared by their mother and remain with her in the city; on the other hand, when his sons have come of age, /165/ the father likes to send them back to the country so that they may attend the Koranic school.

162 For the remainder of the ethnic groups we shall limit ourselves to presenting the same data in the table below, which at the same time sums up the total results. /Table 2 appears here./

This recapitulative table, besides the information already given, shows clearly the difference which distinguishes the first three ethnic groups from the last three, the Peul being at the extremity: among the latter the sex ratio is below 100 and the percentage of adult women clearly drops below 50%, whereas it is the reverse among the others. This
[166] is easily explained if one notes that the Moors, the Bambara,

/165 cont./

167 and the Others (some Manjack and Diola are an exception)
166 come from a distance and that it is therefore normal to see the men emigrate to Dakar and the women remain in the country. On the other hand, one can expect the native Wolof or Sérère women to accompany their husbands, fathers, or brothers to join them when they are settled in the city. An anomaly already pointed out exists no less in this case: Pikine appears somewhat if not altogether like a city reservoir of women, at least like a refuge for them.

/166/ II. Place of Origin and Date of Arrival

166 If one considers the history of Pikine, a preliminary question arises which does not bear on the "where-did-you-come-from" or "when-did-you-arrive?" and which is this: "why did you come to Pikine?" Indeed, let us not forget that in the beginning the Pikine population consisted only of the people who were expelled from the irregular quarters of Dakar, to whom a parcel of land was granted in compensation. The problem is to know whether in 1960 the situation had not changed. Here is the average percentage of the heads of families expelled out of the total, and within each ethnic group. /Table 3 appears here./

In the districts one does not count any family head expelled, since, upon their request, they have all been housed by the following results for the other quarters: 45% of the heads of families have been expelled, and 46% have not. This test is important because it proves that in eight years the mode of the peopling of Pikine has radically changed: from being forced to depart, it has today become voluntary. Another fact is significant for this evolution and its meaning: one finds in our sample a score of families, say 8.2%, who came directly from their former residence to Pikine without going by way of Dakar, and all except one arrived in the course of the year preceding the investigation. The village migrants come to Pikine for the same reasons that impel
[369] them to come to Dakar, and the inhabitants of Rufisque or of Thiès do not think of leaving the city to settle in Pikine.

[Text continues on P. 16 -- Analyst]

Table 3

	W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Av.
Expelled	48	52.9	44.2	30.2	35.7	54.6	31.2	45
Non-expelled	52	47.1	55.8	69.2	64.3	45.4	58.8	55

/166 cont./

166 369 Coming to Pikine means coming to the city, and that is an indication of urban maturity which shows that Pikine is tending toward a relative sociological autonomy with respect to Dakar (1). /167/ /Table 4 appears here./

1. Autonomy does not mean independence, and it is quite certain that Pikine is a result of Dakar and that without Dakar there would be no Pikine. We wish to say simply this: migration to Pikine effectively brings about insertion into an urban environment through its distance from the Dakar agglomeration, and permits a migrant to participate in the economic and social advantages of the city.

166 /168/ As for the high percentages of non-expelled among the Peul, Moors, and the other ethnic groups, it is difficult to give a reason for them. All that one can suggest as far as the Moors are concerned is that they are chiefly [563] merchants and that they establish their shops where the population is to be found. It is therefore normal that their presence in Pikine is the result, not of compulsion born of expulsion, but of choice for commercial motives.

Except for several hundred children less than five years old, no resident was born in Pikine. Two things are interesting to know:

1) Where do they come from, what is the respective proportion of their region of origin?

2) When did they arrive in Dakar?

Here is first, for the male heads of families, a detailed table, in absolute figures, for the places of birth divided according to age classes, and then the table in percentages from the principal regions, regrouped this time into only five categories in order to make the principal tendencies more apparent. /Table 5 appears here./

Table 4. — Place of birth by age class of the family heads (man).

AGE \ REGION	1 Cap Vert	2 Thiès	3 Saint-Louis	4 Dagana	5 Podor	6 Matam	7 Bambey	8 Diourbel	9 Louga	10 Sine-Saloum	11 Tambacounda	12 Casamance	13 Mauritanie	14 Mali	15 Guinée	16 ex-A. O. F.*	17 Elsewhere	TOTAL
20	9	8	0	2	2	3	0	2	0	3	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	31
30	13	17	2	0	7	0	1	4	4	6	1	4	8	3	3	0	2	75
35	5	10	5	2	3	4	4	15	9	8	0	2	2	5	2	2	0	78
40	12	10	0	6	6	4	2	6	20	2	0	0	0	5	3	3	0	79
45	6	17	4	2	4	3	6	4	10	3	0	1	6	2	4	0	0	72
50	3	6	0	2	2	0	0	4	10	8	0	6	4	4	0	1	2	52
55	4	4	7	2	4	0	2	2	2	2	0	4		4	0	2	0	39
60 +	2	10	2	2	2	4	0	0	2	4	0	2		4	2	0	2	38
Total	54	82	20	18	30	18	15	37	57	36	1	19	22	27	14	8	6	464

*Formerly French West Africa

Table 5. – Percentage from places of origin in each age class.

Age	Cape Verde	Thiés	Saint-Louis	River	Baol	Sine-Saloum	Casamance	Mauritania	Mali	Elsewhere	Total
20	29	25.8	0	22.6	6.4	9.8		6.4			100
30 to 39	11.7	17.6	4.6	10.5	24.2	9.9	3.9	6.6	5.2	5.8	100
40 to 49	12	17.9	2.6	16.6	31.8	3.2	0.7	4	4.6	6.6	100
50 to 59	7.7	11	7.7	11	22	11	11	4.4	8.8	5.4	100
60 +	5.3	26.3	5.3	21	5.3	10.5	5.3	0	10.5	10.5	100
Total	11.6	17.7	4.3	14.3	23.5	8	4.1	4.7	5.8	3	100

/168 cont./

166 From this, it is shown that:

1) The Senegalese naturally make up the great majority [167] of the population: 86%. The rest is divided between the Mauritanians and the Mali.

/169/ 2) The Cape Verde Peninsula includes only 11.6% of the family heads, which indirectly confirms the fact that more than 90% of them are emigrants. The region which stands at the head is that of Baol, then Thiès and the River.

3) The significant figures which have been underlined make it appear that: the young people from 20 to 30 years old come either from neighboring regions or from the Valley.

-- The adult men from 30 to 50 years old are originally from there.

-- The majority of elderly men are again either from Thiès or the Valley, or from the outside. It is to be noted [167] that the percentage of 10.5 for the Mali or outsiders more than 60 years old, as well as that of 11 for the Casamançais from 50 to 60 years old, is distinctly higher than their average percentage.

One may perhaps answer the second of the above questions in two ways by indicating either the date of their arrival in Dakar or their age at the present time. In the table for the dates of arrival we have grouped together the secondary ethnic groups while separating them from the Moors who are too special a case to be included with the others, and we have divided the time into five-year periods. /Table 6 appears here./

The period during which the arrivals were the most important is the one after the war. It seems that the war may also have somewhat slowed up a movement which was already weakened before 1940 and which continued even after 1950 for the Toucouleur.

Let us now see the average age at which the migrant arrived in Dakar: /170/ /Table 7 appears here./

Table 6

Ethnic Group Date	W	S	T	M	O	Av.
55-60	5.9	12.9	6.6	16.7	3.7	6
50-55	12.3	13.1	19	16.7	13.9	14
45-50	27.2	32	29	0	13.9	25
40-45	16.1	13	10	8.3	16.7	15
35-40	17.2	6.5	14.4	25	17.6	16
30-35	5.2	0	10	8.3	14	8
25-30	7.4	10	4.4	25	16.5	9
20-25	3	0	2.2	0	0	2
Before 20	5.7	12.7	4.4	0	3.7	5
	100	100	100	100	100	100

/170 cont./

Table 7

●166

Ethnic Group	W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Av.
Age	28.1	25	28.9	25.5	28.9	25.6	27.2	27.9

The Sérère leave their homes at a younger age than the others, whereas the Toucouleur and the Moors are the oldest.

If we compare this last result with the tables of the places of origin in each age class, we may reasonably suppose that the first wave of migration toward Dakar set out from Thiès and from the Valley and in a lesser proportion from the outside. A second wave followed it, coming from Baol, and in recent years Thiès and the Valley have again recovered first place. The Diola in Pikine are too few in number to enable one to obtain valid data on the subject of their migrations.

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369 A final point merits examination: what does their arrival in Pikine mean for the people of Pikine? Or, what experience of the urban environment have they had before this date? For that we have divided the replies into seven categories: those who, before Pikine, lived in only one city, for example, Dakar or Rufisque, and those who have always lived in a city but have known several residences. Then we took as a criterion for the others the age of their arrival in Dakar: before 15 years, between 15 and 30, between 30 and 50, and over 50. A final category is made up of those who come directly from the bush to Pikine. Here (p. 23) are the results in percentages and by ethnic groups:

It is certain that the age at which one arrives in the city has a considerable influence on the facility of adaptation to the urban environment, and that the difference is great between the citizen who has always lived in the city and the peasant who comes there looking for work at the age of 40 or 50. The preceding table therefore permits one to understand from a certain point of view the degree of acculturation to an urban environment of the Pikine population.

/170 cont./

166 369 It will suffice to regroup together the first three categories -- since one can combine with the citizens those who arrived in the city when they were still children -- as well as the last three, and to leave the fourth intact. /171/ /Tables 8 and 9 appear here./

A third of the family heads are therefore original citizens, a little more than a third is made up of people who arrived in the city between the ages of 15 and 30, and a little less than a third arrived after the age of 30.

On the other hand, if one considers the differentiation by ethnic group, one finds that the Sérère come ahead of the [167] Wolof, whereas the Moors rob the Toucouleur of last place.

A comparison of the respective rates of urbanization in the districts and in the quarters is very instructive: /172/ /Table 10 appears here./

The contrast between the two lines is very distinct: the proportion of citizens which is close to 60% in the districts is reduced to one-fourth in the quarters, whereas one sees the opposite phenomenon for the category of the Pikine people who arrived in Dakar after the age of 30. Another indication is worth keeping in mind: the Toucouleur are the only ethnic group among whom this difference disappears almost completely, and among whom the peopling of the districts shows the same structure as that of the quarters.

One may sum up the preceding results in the three following remarks:

1) Two-thirds of the adult population of Pikine are country people, the majority of whom arrived in Dakar at the age of about 30, the most important period of immigration being the one after the war.

2) A clear difference distinguishes the districts from the other quarters: in the former, the mode of peopling is solely voluntary and one counts three citizens out of five family heads; in the quarters close to half of the families were originally forced to leave Dakar where they first sought lodgings, and one finds there only one citizen out of five.

[Text continues on P. 26 --Analyst]

10: Thoré-23 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS 37
/171/

Table 8

Have lived \ Ethnic Group	W	S	T	M	O	Av.
Only one city	6.5	26.3	4.7	7.1	3	6.6
Always in the city but in several places	27.1	10.5	10.5	14.2	25.8	21.9
Arrived in Dakar before the age of 15	2.8	5.3	7	0	4.5	3.8
Arrived in Dakar between 15 and 30	34.4	52.6	40.6	28.5	42,4	38.3
Arrived in Dakar between 30 and 50	17.8	5.3	30.2	43	18.2	20.4
Arrived in Dakar after 50 years of age	5.7	0	2.3	0	0	3.6
Arrived in Pikine directly from the village	5.7	0	4.7	7.2	6.1	5.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

10: Thoré--24 S-5 (1960) 1962 M337 Senegal MS 37

/171/

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Table 9. Rate of urbanization

	W	S	T	M	O	Av.
Citizens	36.4	42.1	22.2	21.3	33.3	32.3
Migrants to the city between 15 and 30 years of age	34.4	56.6	40.6	28.5	42.4	38.3
Migrants to the city after 30 years of age	29.2	5.3	37.2	50.2	24.3	29.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

10: Thoré--25 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS 37
/172/

• 166 369

Table 10

Ethnic Group		W	S	T (1)	O	Av.
Citizens	Q.....	32.2	37.5	21.6	32.1	24.3
	D.....	94	66.7	25	40	59.5
To Dakar between 15 and 30 years of age	Q.....	30.5	62.5	40.5	39.3	39.1
	D.....	6	0	41.7	60	28.6
To Dakar after 30 years of age	Q.....	31.3	0	37.9	28.6	36.6
	D.....	0	33.3	33.3	0	11.9
Total	Q.....	100	100	100	100	100
	D.....	100	100	100	100	100

1. We have not mentioned the Moors since there is no Moorish family head in the districts.

/172 cont./

166 369 3) The migrations of the Toucouleur and the Moors show, for each of them, their own peculiarities, which give these two ethnic groups of immigrants an unquestionable originality.

/173/

III. Work, Socio-occupational Structure

162 463 128 Three problems are interesting in this section: the socio-occupational distribution properly speaking, unemployment, and the place of work.

The crude results of the distribution of the occupations are too scattered to show the broad outlines of the structure. It has seemed to us preferable to regroup the various professions into six large categories and to present the table of percentages of each within each ethnic group. Let us specify what each category corresponds to: that without any occupation, we have put the marabouts who do not have any activity, whether they practice full time -- which is rare -- part time, or do not have any students at all. /Table 11 appears here./

It is necessary to add the merchants to the artisans. The category "manual workers" is the largest: it includes the /174/ laborers, orderlies, chauffeurs, in short, all those who do not have an occupational qualifications. By staffs one should understand foremen as well as office employees, accountants, or typists, provided they belong to private enterprises. Under the rubric of "officials" are listed all those who are concerned with public functions from the local or general staff: policemen, government officials, or employees of the municipality. For each ethnic group the first line gives the percentages in the quarters and the second the corresponding percentages in the districts. The bottom line shows the total result, and the two preceding ones the results in the quarters and in the districts.

This table deserves a brief explanation:

162 463 [127] 1st. There are only very few cultivators. One would think that the proximity of the Niayes of Cape Verde and the importance of truck-gardening cultivation would favor

[Text continues on P. 28--Analyst]

/13 cont./

this differentiation of functions has only taken shape in the last three decades (op. cit., p. 609)." This differentiation has been greatly accentuated in recent years.

369x [361]

2. The time and variable possibilities that the colonial towns have had to crystalize new social behavior and forms permit one to place them on a scale between two extreme types. There are old towns, this with respect to the measure of time that one must adopt in order to place the colonial towns, the majority of which date from only a few decades ago and very few of which have reached a century of existence; there are absolutely new towns.

a) The old town has already had time to structure itself. The original ethnic differences are being obliterated; one could say that there is being created from multiple contributions a new ethos peculiar to the city.

369x 563

The European and African elements have contacts of variable amplitude and partially mingle in the habitat. Some Europeans found families. A sizable mixed society is formed. A proportion of higher schooling and in certain cases landed wealth have favored the creation of a leading African stratum. Some political traditions have been created there. The African population has become stabilized; the "family home" is in town and no longer in the bush. This extreme case is rare; one finds an example of it in the central part of Saint-Louis of the Senegal, the island. Still a new town, with an unstable population, little urbanized up to now, it is juxtaposed there, and the contribution of new layers of European population has changed certain data of the problem.

b) The recent town on the other hand, has very few stabilized Europeans. The mass of Africans is not

[166]

/13 cont./
stabilized either. Most of them were not born in town. There is no mixed society of any importance. The structures adapted to the new environment in which the rural people, recently settled, or seasonal people, who stream toward the town and salaried work, find themselves placed are hardly delineated yet. A relative "social amorphism" prevails. The European town and the African town, on the other hand are more clearly separated. This is the case, in part, for a town such as Brazzaville (2).

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[166]

2. Cf. G. Balandier, "Approche sociologique des 'Brazzavilles noires'; Etude préliminaire /Sociological Approach to the 'Black Brazzavilles': Preliminary Study/," Africa, XXII, 1, January 1952, pp. 23-34.

/14/ 3. Among the colonial towns, some have received an African population that is ethnically homogeneous or characterized by a well-marked dominant ethnic group; others have been populated by waves of immigrants of very diverse origin. The role that the traditional structures and values retain is therefore of unequal importance. Thus the clear contrast between the two "Black Brazzavilles" pointed out by G. Balandier (1). Thus the contrast between the two

1. Ibid.

western and eastern annexes of Saint-Louis, Guet-Ndar and Sor, neither of which, however, can be regarded as completely urbanized.

4. The numerical importance of the European population, in absolute value and in relative value, is quite variable. Its growth is accompanied by modifications of structure

/15 cont./

c) It must be noted also that not all of the immigrant population is of rural origin. Many persons questioned by us, especially among the functionaries, were originally from "old towns" /16/ (Saint-Louis, Rufisque, etc.). It is then a matter of elements already strongly urbanized, for which, in any case, the question of uprooting would not pose itself in the same manner as for the rural people. The percentage of persons born in the town thus does not express exactly the degree of urbanization of the population.

2. Under these conditions, the ethnic heterogeneity of the Dakar agglomeration does not signify, as in other centers presenting the same character, that social "amorphism" prevails (1).

1. Likewise, in a town such as Cotonou, the proximity of the big traditional centers of Dahomey counterbalances in part the facts of dissociation which one would suppose more important in view of the considerable ethnic mixtures that are produced there (cf. J. Lombard, "Cotonou, ville africaine /Cotonou, African town/," Etudes Dahoméennes, X, 1954).

It only reveals itself at certain levels and in certain sectors of the population (seasonal workers, members of ethnic groups represented by a very low number of persons, etc.). The topographic regrouping of people of the same origin however, is far from being systematic, as we shall see in the study of neighborhood groups. At the very most one can mention some dominant ethnic groups in certain quarters (Sarakolé sector of the quarter of Nyaye-Thioker, for example), and the tendency to the least dispersion which characterizes certain groups (Moors, for example). The purely Lebou quarters have ceased

17: Mercier--12 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar
Wolof MS30
Lebu

/16 cont./

to exist by two processes: forced displacement of old quarters at the time of the creation of the Médina, massive settlement of foreign "tenants" in the quarters remaining in place. If the Lebou names of quarters have often been preserved (even after their displacement), if the headships of quarters are still in major part held by Lebou, these soon perhaps will be only historical vestiges. Moreover, the ethnic composition of the quarters and of the "compounds" is constantly being transformed. The numerical importance of the diverse groups cannot be established in any precise fashion because of the lack of detailed censuses. We shall mention as an indication:

a) The official figures, furnished by the way with every reservation, and valid for the whole of the commune of Dakar (the suburban villages included): Lebou, 15%; Wolof, 25%; "Wolof-Lebou," 11%; Sérère, /Serer/, 3%; Bambara, 9%; Toucouleur /Tukolor/, 10%; Peul, 5%; Moors, 4%; Diola, 5%; Soussou /Susu/, 2%; Cape Verdeans (Portugese), 2%; etc. (2).

2. Percentages taken from figures shown in the 1953 report. Not mentioned, by the way, are persons originally from Upper Volta, the Ivory Coast, Dahomey. They do not seem to figure in the total, the headings including only: persons originally from other territories of the A.O.F. /French West Africa/, persons from Cape Verde, persons from Togo, persons from the Cameroun, persons originally from AEF /French Equatorial Africa/ and those from Sierra Leone.

/17/ b) The fragmentary data gathered at the time of the investigation by questionnaires conducted by the Section

/17 cont./ 369*
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[125]
de Sociologie in the first half of 1953. The 1,231 persons questioned were divided among 43 different ethnic groups. The groups of small numerical importance, however, were not all represented (1). One found (the few percentages

> 1. Some others, represented in all Dakar by only a few individuals, were encountered in the course of subsequent investigations.

given are only indicative):

-- persons originally from the Senegal-Sudan zone: [166] [167]
besides the Lebou (9%), the Wolof (43%)(2), the Toucouleur

> 2. Included here is a certain number of persons who were manifestly of Lebou origin and who nevertheless called themselves Wolof, proof of the crisis of the old Lebou particularism.

(11%), the Sérère (5%), the Bambara (6%), the Sarakolé (3%), the Socé, the Mandingue /Mandingo/, the Khassonké /Kassonke/, the Peul, the Diola (3%) (3), the Mandiaque;

> 3. The figure furnished by official sources undoubtedly is closer to reality; there is, in fact, among the Diola, a majority of workers, permanent or seasonal, and this is the category that proved to be the most difficult to contact. The proportion of workers in the total number of persons who agreed to answer our questionnaire is much smaller than it should be. [125]

17: Mercier--27 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/26 cont./

intermediate character of this category, very mixed concerning the level of studies, way of life, etc., is found again in various domains. 369x 565

C. -- The old familial institutions do not always adapt themselves easily to the environment of the new life into which they are transplanted. They were linked with a collective work organization, all the members of the group being assured of enjoying (under the authority of the family head) the revenue of the latter. The notion of individual work, with individual remuneration, has not been introduced without shock. We shall set aside the categories where the work has remained in the family framework despite the necessary transpositions: farmers and fishermen on the one hand, merchants on the other. In the others, the vigor preserved by the traditional familial institutions is sometimes a curb on the raising of the living standard of urbanized elements. There is the problem, commonly called "familial parasitism," which poses itself in all of the African towns; the obligation to come to the aid of all the members of the kinship group is still strongly felt. We shall not proceed here to a detailed examination of the data gathered on the number of salaried persons, and persons practicing a non-salaried occupation, in relation to the total number of adults in the household. But it is necessary to give a survey of them. 369x 59 [476] [461] [602]

1. When questioned about the reasons for their coming to town, less than 10% of those questioned say that they came to rejoin relatives. But subsequent interviews have permitted it to be confirmed that among those persons who had come, according to their statements, to look for work (58%), there were many who would not have been able to subsist except by joining, upon their arrival, a group of relatives already settled. The process has already been described several times, and we shall not return to it (1). 369x 602 166

1. Cf., for example, G. Balandier, op. cit., one of the latest accounts to date.

/92 cont./

369 All of the new elements that swell the urban quarters
166 are young elements coming from the country; 32% of the
[162] population is made up of young people less than 14 years of age (15) whom the so-called facilities of the city have

15. In France this percentage is 24%, the figure estimated according to the census statistics given in the review Population, Oct.-Dec. 1954, p. 718.

attracted. The countryside is being drained of its energetic elements and the city does not have enough work to give to
[464] [574] those who come to settle there. A class of idlers and parasites is forming little by little, living on either the generous African hospitality or by expedients. This aspect of the social problem of the large African cities is one of the more urgent to be solved.

369 168 The public authorities are disturbed by this enormous swelling of the urban populations, which far exceeds the actual needs. It seems that none of the methods adopted up to now for decreasing them /93/ have given appreciable results. Perhaps the efforts that are now being made to improve the conditions of rural life and promote some modernization of agricultural techniques will allow the economic capacity of the countryside to increase and will curb the rural exodus. Greater stability among the urban population would then permit the establishment of more coherent and better balanced social structures.

Georges Savonnet.

/9 cont./

244 407 shows no regard for it. Finally, the navétane eats millet and does not produce any, which in certain regions aggravates the problem of the supply. Before 1939, in the period of the full development of groundnut cultivation, there were up to 70,000 navétanes in some years. The system of the authoritative organization of labor during the hostilities could by no means support these effectives; therefore, with the return to freedom in 1946, the number of navétanes had fallen to about 12,000. In order to attract them, they were given free travel going and returning. The suppression of these facilities in 1956 and [648] the closing of the Guinea frontier at the end /10/of 1958 have [167] considerably diminished the importance of these temporary [433] migrations, which, in sum, were not very profitable for the economy of Senegal.

Other seasonal movements of labor take place in the 244 framework of groundnut cultivation. The sourga come from •166 the city and take their place among their relatives under the 464 same conditions as the navétanes. The baraguini are laborers [427] who, in the regions of Tambacounda and Kédougou, offer their assistance to the cultivators during the harvest. They dig up the groundnut stalks, dry them, and detach and clean the seeds.

1

244 433 All of these types of groundnut cultivation are characterized by small yields: 830 kilograms per hectare on the average in Senegal. These yields, a consequence of the poorness of the traditional technical contrivances, can hardly be improved. In recent decades the increase in volume of the harvest has been linked with that of the area cultivated, which is not without grave dangers: abuses of cultivation on soils that are unstable, and a falling off of food production. After some attempts without results in the years 1920-1930, it is mechanized cultivation which, at the end of the Second World War, seems most capable of increasing production for the benefit of the mother country, which suffered from a grave shortage of fatty substances.

1 [See Category 116, PP. 3-8 for types of autochthonous cultivation--Analyst]

/381 cont./

369 648 633 larger than that of Paris. In Dakar, this function as a metropolis, which has been confirmed since the construction of the commercial port, preceded and conditioned the development of the city.

369 166 169 [487] 3. The city. The commercial affairs which thus make African products and products from the outside converge toward the Dakar crossroads could not fail to bring with them a great number of people. First, there are the Goréans, finally resigned to their fate, who accompany or follow the commercial or administrative establishments being transferred to Dakar; then, non-Africans, administrators, technicians, merchants, etc., usually arriving from Europe by the same route as that of the imported manufactured products. But above all there are the masses who arrive by road and by rail, by these paths of a money economy which have greatly disturbed the villagers' traditional institutions and thus communicated to the people a mobility formerly unknown in the rural world. Willingly or unwillingly, the rural people of Senegal, of the Sudan, of Upper Guinea, and of the Upper Volta take to the road and rails to cast themselves into an /382/ /Fig. 3 appears here/ /383/ adventurous existence which will lead many of them to Dakar and to settle there. Finally, Africans from Guinea, the Ivory Coast, and Dahomey, students at the large educational institutions and officials who come in connection with the functions of the federal capital, also arrive by sea.

369 162 [633] This human convergence, which since the last decade of the century has continued to grow, has caused a vertiginous increase in the population. To be sure, for the period before 1955 there were only estimations, all the less certain because the boundaries of the commune have often changed, but the official figures (18), even though they should be corrected here or

[113] 18. Synthèse de la situation économique de l'ex-A.O.F. durant la période 1948 à

/Fig. 3 Caption cont./

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a-g. The piers. -- I. Town Hall. -- II. Chambre de Commerce. -- III. Sandaga Market (Ponty-Clemenceau cross-roads). -- IV. Former Palace of Justice. -- V. General Postoffice. -- VI. Treasury. -- VII. Kermel Market. -- VIII. Military Circle. -- IX. Residence of the President of the Republic. -- X. Military Hospital. -- XI. African Hospital. -- XII. Palace of Justice. -- XIII. Camp Bornis. -- XIV. Camp Galliéni.. -- XV. Station.

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/383 cont./ one another in Dakar are Lébou, Ouolof /Wolof/, Toucouleur /Tukolor/, Sérère /Serer/, Sarakolé, Diola, Socé, etc., who are Senegalese, but there are also Mauritanians, Sudanese, Voltaics, Guineans, Ivorians /persons from the Ivory Coast/, Dahomeans; Cape Verdeans, Lebano-Syrians, French, etc. The Lébou, who are the original population of Dakar, today represent scarcely one-tenth of the population, exceeded in number by the Oulof, the Toucouleur (20), and even by the 30,000 non-Africans,

[113]

20. A. Diop, "L'immigration toucouleur à Dakar (enquête /investigation/ 1958-1959)," I.F.A.N., Dakar, p. 1. The author, citing an investigation by the M.I.S.O.E.S., gives the figure of 31,000 Toucouleur in 1959.

among whom the French constitute a great majority of close to 23,000 persons in residence. This character of Dakar as a [166] region of call is illustrated first by the fact that only a little more than one-third of the population was born there. /384/ and then by the quite obvious inequality between the number of men and that of women. Before the war, among the Europeans, there were 65% men as against 25% women and 10% [744] children (21). Today the systematic destruction of the

21. Morazé, Ch., "Dakar," op. cit., p. 630.

162 /384 cont./
369 breeding-places of mosquitoes in the numerous swamps of the
563 peninsula having been successfully undertaken by the federal
[744] authorities, one can better appreciate the exceptionally pleas-
[192] ant climate of Dakar, subject eight months of the year to the "influences of the Canaries" (cool and brisk current, marine trade-wind from the northeast), and an equilibrium tends to be established between men, women, and children, the first nevertheless still remaining the most numerous; in 1955, 39% men against 31% women and 30% children for the total non-African population; and 35% men, 30% women, and 35% children for the non-African population in residence. Among the Africans, one can verify the same phenomenon: 36% men, 31% women, and 35% children less than 14 years of age for the total population; 34% men, 31% women, and 35% children for the population in residence. Despite this tendency toward equilibrium, the fact remains that for the whole population of Dakar, men over 14 years of age are definitely more numerous than women over 14 years of age and than children; the balance sheet gives 37% for the men as against 30% for the women and 35% for the children.

369 This situation is explained by the fact that immigration
563 to Dakar is first of all of interest to the men, for whom it carries
• 166 the hope of a better position, but it also represents a daring
162 enterprise on which one does not take women and children until definite opportunities for settling down present themselves. This fact is particularly clear for the non-resident population, among whom the proportion of men is very high. Thus, among the non-resident Africans, there are 57% men as against 27% women and 16% children. The proportion is even higher among non-resident foreigners: 77% men as against 12% women and 11 % children.

[464] But though settling in Dakar is almost always linked to employment for the non-African population, it is not the same for Africans. The destruction of the villagers' traditional institutions, modern transportation, the facilities for hospitality

/384 cont./

369 in the city at the home of a relative, at the home of a friend
563 or the friend or relative of a friend, or at the home of a resi-
166 dent originally from the same village or merely from the same
162 region -- all of this ultimately makes up the factors that are
464 more decisive than the salary. Because of this, while among the resident non-Africans the number of persons employed amounts to 43 % of the total and 64% of the economically active, among the resident Africans, the proportion of workers is no more than 27% of the total and 42% /385/ of the economically active. If one adds to that the salaries, on the average
369 much higher among the first than among the second, one finds
511 in Dakar some of the contrasts characteristic of West African
563 cities: on the one hand, among the non-Africans, a high standard of living which is often shown in the appearance of their quarters, and, on the other hand, the mass of the African population whose settling in the city is tied neither to a correlative augmentation of the normal opportunities for lodgings nor to a higher living standard in relation to the bush, which gives to the African city, or at least to some of its quarters, an appearance more wretched than that of the villages of the interior.

369 This situation, formerly very clear, put Dakar in the
563 normal category of West African cities, where a white city and
[361] a black city stand in contrast (22), a contrast that was the result

[113] 22. Dresh, J., "Villes d'Afrique occidentale /Cities of West Africa/," Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, 1950.

of a de facto segregation imposed, not by law, but by the norms of urbanism and of hygiene, to which it was impossible for the bulk of the natives to subject themselves, and also by the high
[465] price of rent -- the non-Africans being nearly always lodged by their employers. In 1936 Charles Morazé wrote: "Formerly Europeans and natives lived mixed. Innumerable families lived

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M837 Senegal MS 39

36 [13] [162]

KAOLACK (14° 07′; 16° 07′ W.). Population, 21,973. Mixed Commune. Headquarters of the province of Sine-Saloum. Custom-house. Chamber of Commerce. Medical post. Police headquarters. Meteorological station. Landing-ground. Wireless station. Regional School. Roman Catholic mission. Bank of West Africa. Banque Commerciale Africaine. Hotels. Garages. Race-course.

[439] Kaolack exports more ground-nuts than any other port in the Federation. It is a well-planned town with squares and trees, and it is on the right bank of the Saloum, 71 miles above its mouth, where [487] [505] the river is 100 yards wide. It is the limit of navigation for sea-going ships.

[162] In 1904 Kaolack had only 300 inhabitants, but the development of communications in the neighbourhood has caused it to grow to its present size. The figure given above is for the permanent popu- [166] lation only. At the height of the ground-nut season there are an additional 20,000 temporary inhabitants.

Trade

[439] During the first quarter of 1939 Kaolack exported 32,259 tons of ground-nuts (Plate 122), as against 26,832 tons from Dakar. Owing to the bar across the Saloum, however, many ships do not load to their maximum capacity but go on to Dakar to complete their lading.

[258] Across the river from the town is a large salt-works.

The Port

[504] On the north bank there are concrete quays with a total length of over 2,000 feet and on the south bank there is a small wharf. At Lyndiane, 9 miles downstream, is a wharf belonging to the firm of Peyrissac et Cie.

Communications

[498] *Rail.* Kaolack is the terminus of Route 5 to Guinguiné (14 miles), and is therefore 142 miles from Dakar. It is also the terminus of Route 6 to Lyndiane (6½ miles). Both stations are close to the river, and there is a line directly on to the quays.

[491] *Road.* Intercolonial roads lead northward to Gossas (25 miles), Thiès (82 miles), and Dakar (126 miles), eastward to Kaffrine (37 miles) and Tambacounda (188 miles), and south-south-westward to Messira (49 miles) and the frontier of the Gambia (57 miles). The last-named road crosses the Saloum by a bridge. A colonial road goes north-west to Fatik (28 miles), another south-east to Nioro

/105 cont./

465 Domestic work is rare and costly. A cook is paid be-
357 tween 200 and 500 francs a month, a houseboy from 100 to 200 francs. These rates are similar to the ones prevailing in Dakar.

463 The native, moreover, is attracted to the cities only
465 by the high wages. Competition does not come into play, as in Europe. There are only rare specialists or artisans. As
[241] for the laborer, most often he prefers to work his field in the countryside or to hire himself out as an agricultural worker for a native employer who will feed him and leave to him a part of the harvest.

In an agricultural region such as Sine-Saloum, the native is primarily a cultivator.

244 Navétanes. Each year at the time of groundnut culti-
166 vation, Sine-Saloum gets many native cultivators coming
167 from the east and south (Sudan, Portuguese Guinea, Casamance, Upper Gambia, and even Guineans from Fouta-Djallon).

These immigrants are called "navétanes," from the word "navet," which means "rainy season," because these foreigners arrive shortly before the first storms and leave as soon as they have sold their harvest.

About 10,000 to 15,000 of them come each year. A
244 local custom called "Lâdyino" governs the relations between the
466 foreigner and his employer.

[465] This is a verbal agreement according to which the employer assures his co-covenanter food and lodgings for the period of the work and in addition loans him a particular field.

/106/ The navétane works for his employer every morning, except Monday and Thursday. The rest of the time is left to him for his personal crops. The navétane gets seeds from his landlord.

His work consists of the preparation of the field (lougan), sowing, and weeding.

After the harvest has been gathered, the landlord stops feeding him.

[465] At the time of his departure, the navétane must reimburse his employer for the cost of his food, which is fixed by